1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatsin, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kwirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kwirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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421 437 524 [154] [525] It was significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through [591] male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in [165] the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 [988] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

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105 181 421 [578] 431 [855] "Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. [437] [524] Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish [858] property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five [431] year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership [865] attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

105 [36] "These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of [324] metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct [182] Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

105 123 156 "The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

[849] "The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-105 village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit [507] with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... [833] Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

105 [67] 831 "Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[616] [1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialized in axe-making.

/194 cont./

609 123 [437] [262] It was only then that we recovered our senses and were able to understand the reason for the incident. Apparently the Trumaí had been animated by the urgent desire to barter as soon as possible and with as little ceremony as possible for some of our treasures in exchange for their miserable beijús, which looked gray as though made with buckwheat flour, were coarse-grained, and tasted slightly sour. With this in mind they had been active everywhere. Of Wilhelm's companions, one had been busy with the hunting knife and the other with the gun at the same time, and the latter, while my cousin was trying in the friendliest way to keep them off, had unfortunately pressed the cock. In any case the culprit was the most surprised by the effect; otherwise he would not have been kicking so frightenedly on the ground.

In spite of the miraculous speed with which they dashed to the boats, however, the Trumaí had not lost all presence of mind. The two who had just been trying on Castro's and Antonio's hats did not forget in their hasty running to put them on well down over their heads. Another old hand had still found time on his flight to snatch up quickly one of the large fish lying on the beach.

Antonio's behavior when he was so unexpectedly deprived of his precious hat was characteristic. Without further ado he shot his pistol at the thief, but in his rage fortunately missed. And when we /Illustration appears here/ /195/ asked him whether he really wanted to kill the man, he nodded with the greatest composure, "Yes, he had my hat."

126 411 The returning men brought back a rich ethnological collection, at least in terms of the number of objects. The bows were very fine and strong, one was shot to pieces, proof that the shots had not been fired entirely happazardly. The arrows provided with pointed pieces of bamboo were plentiful; these bamboo blades, which, as could be easily seen, had been freshly sharpened, are only loosely inserted in the shaft with a little resin; after the arrow has reached its mark, they break off and remain embedded in the body. There was a single club, crudely worked, flat, 86 301 centimeters long. One feather ornament was particularly pretty; 237 the green, orange-colored, and white feathers were mounted on

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 79]

/122 cont./

123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetö, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetö from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetö harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetö plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

/123 cont./

437 knives and some sacrifices from our personal belongings, we acquired a small, not unattractive collection. The people had protected from the Suyá and carried along with them the 126 things that were most important for us. There were feather 437 ornaments, necklaces of stone beads, a stone ax, valuable as [439] an example of local manufacture, for the other Kulisehu tribes obtain their stone axes from the Trumaí, throwing sticks, a club, ten masks, dance clubs, large flutes, and various trifles. 411 To our astonishment, we did not see the large arrows with long, pointed pieces of bamboo, which the Trumaí had carried in 1884, a number of which they lost in their flight, and which we noticed had been sharpened for the encounter with us. They had probably been used up in the battle with the Suyá.

126 I spent as much time as possible during the evening writing beside a candle stub, in order to obtain a vocabulary. A [115] younger chief proved very capable, except that in his enthusiasm he shouted with a loud voice, as though I were stone deaf. 123 Inquisitively the men squatted nearby, the witches were /124/ [601] busy at the fires, the children cried atsíu for mother and papá for father, through the branches magic moonlight poured over the strange camp scene, and soon the peace of night embraced the sleeping and the awake. We could sleep undisturbed, but were well aware that a few men remained sitting beside the fire.

The next morning, 26 October, there was great confusion. A large glass of arsenic pills had been stolen from me. Under the peculiar circumstances I would gladly have overlooked any kind of theft, but I could neither be without this arsenic for my part, nor let the Indians poison themselves with it. I was forced to suspect the Yaulapiti who had accompanied us, after our experiences in their village, and demanded that they give it back. They, of course, professed their innocence, the Trumaí became terribly afraid, the women, children, and part of the men escaped into the bushes and did not return even when one of the Yaulapiti actually brought the glass with the arsenic pills. According to his humble opinion, it had dropped out of my